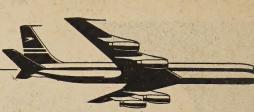


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COMMENT -

STORMY INDEPENDENCE

The thirteenth year was not an easy one; it rarely is. Israel displayed all the familiar symptoms of growing up, from the hopeful beginnings of the year—when everything was going so well—to the more painful experiences of the last six months. These, it has to be recognised, have worried many of Israel's best friends and hurt most of the Israelis.

It is inevitable in these circumstances that those who had set the highest and, perhaps, unreasonable hopes on the emerging Israel, should be the most disappointed and vocal in their criticisms. They refused to see the difficulties and flaws beforehand and they would not listen to or tolerate even reasoned criticism, for everything to them was always in a state of perfection. And now they are hurt and disillusioned, a prey to anyone who comes with a quick political panacea, and—they are as wrong now, as they were then.

For what has happened in Israel during the last six months presents the classic case against propaganda, censorship and suppression of information. An informed and responsible public opinion, be it inside or outside Israel, can take these shocks in its stride. It is only when the truth is deliberately withheld or distorted that it creates psychological havoc when it finally becomes known. That has always been the basis of the Jewish observer's attitude to Israel and to the happenings in Israel. Honest reporting and frank comment have never harmed a cause; they have always in the event been a source of strength, not of weakness.

* * *

For one thing, it enables us to look at the whole picture without having to hide anything. And it is worth while looking at the whole of Israel's thirteenth year, not only at the last six months. For what has remained at the end; what has been of more lasting impact; the indubitable successes of the first half, or the shoddy affairs and scandals of the second half? What will the world remember in the years to come: the trial of Israel Beer or the trial of Adolf Eichmann?

We might also ask about this past year, what were its most lasting characteristics: was it the Lavon affair; or the outcry about the imaginary Israeli "atom bomb," or the allegations of spy scandals at home and abroad? When these are long forgotten, Israel's break-out from her international isolation, Ben-Gurion's visit to General de Gaulle,

the growth of the domestic economy, the maintenance of Israel's position in Africa in the face of tremendous pressures from Moscow and Cairo, the marked improvement in the equipment of the Defence Forces, the Rehovot Conference on the Advancement of Science, the establishment of Israel's first City of Nuclear Science, and the rapid progress in the colonisation of the Negev—all these will have been lasting steps on the road to independence and peace.

* * *

In one of his moving interventions in the Eichmann trial, Mr. Justice Landau spoke of the judges as men of flesh and blood like all other men. And this is true of Israel as a whole. It is not a nation of supermen, fortunately, but of ordinary men of flesh and blood. What makes them different is not what they are, but what they have to do. The grim tale which the Attorney General related to the court in Jerusalem on the eve of the independence celebrations illustrated just how much needs to be reborn, reformed, replaced. But it is not Israel in the abstract that has to fill that awful gap; it is the Israelis. And during the last six months of the thirteenth year, one felt at times that they were inclined to overlook this side of the meaning of Israel.

But, on this Independence Day, there was surely not one Israeli who could have missed the significance of his being in Israel and not being numbered among the six million silent witnesses in the court room at the Beth Ha'am. It is this aspect of the Eichmann trial that so many observers have missed. The past can no longer be undone—not even by Eichmann. But the future lies before Israel, and if they achieve nothing else, the last two terrible days of Hausner's reconstruction, which preceded the Day of Independence, must have fortified the resolve of every Israeli and every Jew as never before.

As Israel enters her fourteenth year, she will have need of such resolve, for the world will not be an easier place to live in just yet. It is easy to be admired when one is strong and successful; it is not so difficult to carry the day when things go your way. But the real test of a people is how they deal with adversity. How Israel overcomes it will depend largely on the leadership which she gets in this undertaking from Mapai, from the Liberals and from the other parties. None escapes responsibility.

ISRAEL

MURDER OF A PEOPLE

EICHMANN COURT HEARS THE EVIDENCE

from Ephraim Lahav

Jerusalem:

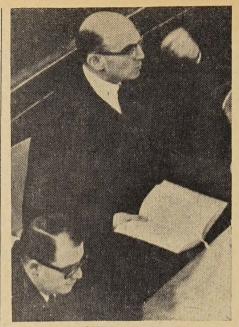
Week one of the Eichmann trial had been for the doubters and for the jurists, for those whose questioned Israel's right to try Eichmann on grounds both of good policy and reasons of law. For hour after solid hour, Attorney General Gideon Hausner had argued the legalistic case and, in the end, had been upheld by the bench of three judges.

Week two was an altogether different case, the opening of the trial proper in which the prosecution commenced the ghastly recital of the evidence against Eichmann. Gideon Hausner, addressing himself to the people of Israel, to Jewry in dispersion and by no means least to the outside world, unrolled a record of horror unparalleled in human history, so massive that only the individual experiences mentioned by him made an impact.

He led up to his basic theme gradually, tracing the history of the Nazi Party and Eichmann's career as the specialist for Jewish affairs. Then, coming to the fourth of his eleven chapter speech, he spoke about the "Final Solution of the Jewish Problem."

A million children: Speaking in quiet, dispassionate tones, he passed from the events of "Crystal Night," to the detention of Jews for ransom, the Madagascar and Nisko (Lublin) territorial concentration plans and to the Wannsee conference on January 20, 1942. He then dealt with Eichmann's appointment by Heydrich as the officer in overall charge of the planning and execution of the "Final Solution." So far, his audience, in the courtroom and in the adjoining hall where the proceedings are being relayed over a closed circuit television system, had been able to follow him without emotion.

But then, continuing in the same quiet and unexcited tone, he moved on almost imperceptibly to another stage. "No part of all this bloody work," he said, "is so shocking and terrible as that of the million Jewish children whose blood was spilt like water all over Europe. How they were separated by force from their mothers who tried to hide them, murdered and thrown out of trucks in the



"... actions which the mind of man does not want to believe"

camps, torn to pieces before their mothers' eyes, their little heads smashed on the ground—these are the most terrible passages of the tale of slaughter."

This was the first breaking point. Only with difficulty did the bench retain its air of detachment. But such forbearance was beyond the ability of the audience, members of which wept openly, and of Hausner himself whose voice faltered and dropped to a tear-choked hoarseness. "You will hear evidence," he continued, "of actions which the mind of man does not want to believe..."

Soul of the indictment: "You will hear evidence of tender infants pressed by



DEFENDER WECHTENBRUCH Face covered

their mothers to their bodies in the gas chambers so that they did not immediately die. And then the murderers came and threw them alive into the furnaces or ready graves. Those unhappy children... who saw their fathers being whiplashed before their eyes and witnessed discussions by the German executioners as to who should be killed first—the father or the son... these children and youths who, despite all desperate measures and vain attempts to hide them, would finally fall into their hunters' hands—they are the very soul and innermost core of the indictment."

As Hausner pushed relentlessly forward with his bloody indictment, pausing only now and again to recover his own composure, even hard-boiled representatives of the international press visibly blanched and lowered their heads. Defence counsel Servatius sat motionless, but his young assistant, Dieter Wechtenbruch, covered his face with his hands.

Only Adolf Eichmann sat motionless, his twitching mouth conveying the one sign of his awareness.

Burden of the proof: The scenes in the neighbouring hall and in other public places where people were listening to transmissions of the proceedings were almost indescribable. Old women and young men wept openly and unashamedly. Sabras, always held to be the toughest nuts to crack, broke down under the impact of Hausner's story.

The Attorney General ended the first day of the prosecution case with the observation: "Adolf Eichmann will enjoy a privilege which he did not accord even to a single one of his victims. He will be able to defend himself before the court. His fate will be decided only according to the law and evidence, with the burden of proof resting on the prosecution. And the judges of Israel will pronounce a true and right judgement."

The second day was, if anything, more heart-rending than the first. Hausner devoted the major part of his address to countering the suggestion that Eichmann was but a very small cog in the wheel of the Nazi murder machine.

A promise: Detailing the "cleansing" of each of the East European countries in turn, Hausner said he would submit documents covering meetings held in Eichmann's office and the correspondence he conducted with the German Foreign Office regarding the deportation of Jews from Western Europe—"For Labour." These documents, he stated, would show that Eichmann deceived his own Foreign Office which had extracted a promise from Eichmann that Jews would be deported only for labour purposes.

In fact, declared Hausner, Eichmann's

orders to his operational units laid down that each transport from France, Belgium and Holland was to include ten per cent of Jews unfit for work who were to be passed on for immediate killing on arrival at their destination.

When the deportations from France did not proceed at the pace he desired, Eichmann threatened to remove France from the list of countries to be cleansed—whereupon his representative in Paris, S.S. officer Dannecke, took fright and promised to work more efficiently.

Report on the dead: The Italians in the territories under their occupation, said Hausner, did not co-operate with "Final Solution" operations and often thwarted deportation orders. Eichmann complained bitterly of Italian sabotage in southern France, Greece and Yugoslavia and asked the Foreign Office, through Heinrich Mueller, to bring pressure to bear on the Italian Government.

Similar tactics were used in those East European countries where the governments, although anti-Semitic, refused to have their Jews killed and only wanted them concentrated in labour camps—Slovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria. When the Slovakian Government insisted on permission for its representatives to visit deported Jews in Polish camps, Eichmann refused and hired a Slovakian journalist to publish enthusiastic eyewitness articles about the Jews at work. But by then, the Jews were already dead.

In his attempts to dissuade the Rumanian Government from its—albeit, relatively—humane attitude to its Jews, whom they only wanted to deport to Transnistria, Eichmann even provoked a complaint from the German Ambassador in Bucharest.

Himmler's order: In Hungary, after vain efforts to induce Horthy to surrender his Jews, Eichmann took charge of the "Sondereinsatzkommando Eichmann," using ruses and stratagems, such as Horthy's absence at a meeting with Hitler, to put his plan into effect. Even when Himmler, at the end of 1944, ordered the killings to cease, Eichmann found a way around these orders, said Hausner.

He organised a march of Jews from Hungary, ostensibly to build fortifications in Austria. "Eichmann's calculation was simple. The weak would fall by the way; the sturdy would arrive, build the fortifications, and would afterwards be wiped out. The march began in November, in rain, snow and cold along a 130-mile route. The Jews had to live in the open or in pigsties.

"Thus were the women, children and old folk deported. Any of them found walking with difficulty were shot by the



"A TRUE AND RIGHT JUDGEMENT"
Judges Halevy, Landau and Raveh listen to the evidence

guards, who tormented their victims every step of the way. Those who had no strength left collapsed and died. Hundreds committed suicide or died from typhus. The food, handed out once every few days, consisted of some hot water and some bread. People died like flies and the whole route was strewn with corpses."

Sweet for the children: "This horror," he went on, "attained such proportions that even the escorting Hungarian officer and soldiers began to rebel, and demanded that they be sent to the front." The Nazis ignored the Hungarian Premier's intervention, stated Hausner, "and then the astonishing happened. Himmler, himself, reprimanded Eichmann for organising this operation, and only then did the terrible march end." But, before that, between six and ten thousand people had died.

For what seemed age after age, the story went on: the slaughter at Auschwitz, at Chelmno where only four men out of 340,000 inmates escaped death, at Dachau, Belsen, Mauthausan and Maidenek, where the children were once treated with kindness—each was handed a sweet at the entrance to the gas chamber.

Against this background of unremitting horror, the few acts of human decency stood out like beacons: Denmark, where the people organised a fantastic rescue operation smuggling six thousand Jews out of the country in a "little Dunkirk" fleet of fishing boats, yachts and other small vessels; Norway, where the under-

ground helped smuggle out half of the small Jewish population of 1,750; Holland, where the S.S. had to rush in reinforcements to break the strikes by Dutch workers against the persecution of Jews.

Eichmann trembles: But these provided only a pause in the gruesome story of Jewish martyrdom which held the court in a compulsive vice, so that the scene froze on one's memory with only the voice of Attorney General Hausner sounding on, and on. But, for the first time, Eichmann himself was showing signs of agitation.

Beneath the desk of his glass cage, his legs and most of his body gave way to a fit of trembling as Hausner produced his evidence. He stopped taking the voluminous notes which had been a feature of the scene in earlier stages. "Had he dared lift his hand to write," said one of the guards later, "he would not have been able to hide the trembling that shook his body."

And, when he entered the dock on Wednesday morning, Eichmann looked nervous and distraught. He stared at the table in front of the prosecutor's desk, piled high with tape recorders and tapes with which the prosecution will now present the court with some of the statements made by Eichmann during interrogation.

And as the tape whirred, the court gasped to hear Eichmann's voice declare: "I know I may face a death sentence. I cannot claim mercy, because I am not deserving of it."



NOT ONLY EICHMANN ON THEIR MINDS
Senior Israeli security officials in Jerusalem—not a word to the press

U.S RESOLUTION DISTURBS ISRAELIS

SUPPORT FOR ARABS ON REFUGEES

from our own correspondent

New York:

Israel's delegation to the U.N. professed itself bewildered on Tuesday when, in a surprise move, the U.S. delegation introduced a new draft resolution "recognising the need to safeguard the property rights of the Arab refugees of Palestine," which was carried by 47 votes to 19, with 20 abstentions.

Until that moment, the U.S. had on record a series of amendments to an Arab-backed resolution (see earlier report page 18) which would have deleted a similar reference to the question of property. The new resolution noted, "with deep regret," that repatriation or compensation of the refugees had not been effected in accordance with previous U.N. resolutions and that no substantial progress had been made on the reintegration of the refugees, either by repatriation or resettlement.

The resolution directed attention to the "precarious financial position" of UNRWA and noted that the entire mandate of the organisation is to be reviewed at the next Assembly in the autumn. But it still failed to please the Arabs who wanted the establishment of U.N. custodianship over refugee property.

U.S. delegate Francis Plimpton attacked Arab criticisms of the U.S. and stated that it was "wholeheartedly and

completely devoted to the welfare of the Palestine Arab refugees." At the same time, he challenged the Arabs to indicate publicly the extent of their contributions to the upkeep of the refugees.

THE CHARGE AGAINST ISRAEL BEER

INVESTIGATIONS CONTINUE

The story broke first in New York on Saturday morning. In a dispatch datelined Athens, the New York Daily News reported that a man identified as a leading Israeli scholar and an officer in the Israeli Defence Forces had been arrested and charged with espionage for the Soviet Union.

On Saturday night in Tel Aviv, Avner Chelouche, head of the Police Special Investigations Department, authorised a statement which said: "On March 31, 1961, Dr. Israel Beer was arrested on suspicion of maintaining contact with espionage agents of a foreign power and transmitting secret information to them."

Supplementary information disclosed that a Tel Aviv magistrate on Friday issued a 15-day detention order for Beer, after a police officer said that he was suspected of having maintained contact with an agent who was connected with one of the foreign missions in Israel, and of transferring to him secret information with the intent of harming State security.

Who are the spokesmen: These were the only official statements made by either the police or government spokesmen. Not one word has been said officially since then—but this has not halted a crop of Israeli press reports on Beer's life and supposed activities attributed to unidentified "official spokesmen." These have been picked up, in turn, by the news agencies and cabled abroad.

These agency messages made much of Israel press reports that Beer had recently addressed senior NATO officers in Paris and quoted an official spokesman as saying that Beer was not believed to have betrayed any NATO secrets.

(In Paris, after a thorough check at the offices of SHAPE, the NATO Defence College and at NATO headquarters itself, the JEWISH OBSERVER was unable to discover any record of an address by Dr. Beer to NATO officers. A search of the security records kept at NATO headquarters confirmed that Beer had never been on the premises.)

"Confession" reported: The Jerusalem Post, in reporting the arrest, went into intimate details of Beer's personal life and a detailed description of what happened when the police searched his home.

In common with many other Israeli newspapers, it quoted a report by Itim, the Israeli news agency, that Beer had at first denied the accusations under interrogation, but later confessed, "after seeing that the police had exact details of his actions."

Ma'ariv on the same day alleged that Beer was not a doctor, that his name was not Israel and that he was not a soldier. Newspaper suggestions that he was not of Jewish origin, were later disproved.

Ben-Gurion's denial: Ma'ariv also reported that, in addition to having met Prime Minister Ben-Gurion six times, Beer had also carried on an exchange of letters with him. This was denied on the following day by a government spokesman who made clear that Beer had never been the Prime Minister's military adviser or enjoyed his confidence.

The arrest and the charge were the subject of editorials in every newspaper. The Jerusalem Post observed that: "It would have been easy for him to obtain information on any subject in which he was interested, and it can only be a rather melancholy satisfaction that any such leak has now been stopped."

Demand for inquiry: Ha'aretz, with an eye to its own previous employment of the accused, said the fact that nobody in the defence establishment suspected Beer of treasonable activities proved that he successfully hoodwinked even his closest associates.

The General Zionist Haboker demanded a non-party commission of inquiry, including military and legal experts, to investigate the affair. Herut

demanded that the Minister of Defence answer for this "shocking business." Mapam's Al Hamishmar wondered how a man with Beer's alleged past leanings was permitted access to defence secrets, while Ahdut Avodah's Lamerhav commented that even eventual success in "running Beer down" could not dispel the shock.

In Austrian Army: Ma'ariv, taking the Prime Minister and Defence Minister to task, said the accused should have been suspected long ago, while Yediot Ahronot recalled that it had warned against a Soviet espionage network in Israel and the nation's tolerant attitude toward it.

Who is Israel Beer? According to biographical material supplied to his German publishers, European Defence Affairs Publishing Company of Munich, for his recent book *The Near East—Region of Fate Between East and West*, Beer was born in Austria in 1912. A graduate of the Theresian Military Academy in Vienna, he served in the Austrian Federal Army until 1938.

"During this period, he took his doctorate in philosophy at Vienna University. From 1940, Dr. Beer was a member of the General Staff of the Hagana and, in the course of time, he occupied several other responsible Israeli General Staff posts.

"He was, among other things, director of the Planning Section, and, from 1949, director of the Operations Section of the General Staff. Since 1954, Dr. Beer has been a member of the Minister's Office of the Israeli Defence Minister, a post held by the Prime Minister of the State of Israel.

"Apart from this, Dr. Beer is the holder of the Chair of Military History at the University of Tel Aviv."

Associate of Sneh: In Israel itself, Beer first became generally known at the time of the War of Independence. He had been distinguished in the ranks of Hagana by the fact that he was one of the few officers with a formal military education. He was at that time a member of Mapam, closely associated with Moshe Sneh, who had been a General Zionist who later turned to the extreme left-wing of Mapam.

In May, 1948, Beer was in command at Degania when the Syrians attacked. As the situation in this sector deteriorated, Yigal Yadin sent Moshe Dayan to relieve him and Beer was brought back to join the headquarters planning staff.

Throughout this period, he remained a supporter of Sneh and when, at the end of the war, Palmach leaders resigned because they could not agree to the military re-organisation plans, Beer left the army and became a violent critic of

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MADE BY THE MAKERS OF SENIOR SERVICE

Ben-Gurion in the columns of the official Mapam newspaper.

Engaged by Lavon: At a later stage, however, when Sneh left Mapam to move further left and eventually into the communist ranks, Beer also left Mapam. After a short interval, he addressed a letter to Ben-Gurion and Dayan confessing to previous political errors, but Dayan refused to accept his return to the army or to allow him any contact with the General Staff. Pinhas Lavon, however, as the then Minister of Defence, agreed to engage him as a lecturer to staff officers.

It was not until Dayan's resignation as Chief of Staff that Beer became established and was taken into the Defence Ministry as official historian of the War of Independence, which brought him into contact with senior officers and officials. His application for the post of lecturer on military history at the Hebrew University was turned down after reference to his former Chief of Staff, Yigal Yadin.

NEWS SHOCKS ISRAELIS

SECURITY REPORT FOR CABINET

from our own correspondent

Jerusalem:

Those who thought Israelis were already so numbed by recent developments that they would not react to further shocks were given cause to reflect by the general anxiety expressed following the news of the arrest of Israel Beer.

Many people knew about the arrest



FORMER DEFENCE CHIEFS YADIN AND DAYAN Two men who said no—now justice must decide

ten days before it was announced. First news of it was brought back by some who had attended the Degania anniversary celebrations in which many Mapai leaders took part. Others heard about it through *Ha'aretz* journalists who were among the first to be informed.

The delay in publishing the fact of the arrest has not been explained, but some thought it might have been withheld so as not to "steal the show" from the Eichmann trial. This it certainly did on Sunday when most papers found their circulation up by between 30 and 100 per cent on normal sales.

Herut sees a chance: The main fears expressed were for the country's security.

This, too, seems to have been the theme of much of this week's Cabinet discussions. The Cabinet will decide what steps, if any should be taken after it hears at its next meeting from the head of the security service.

Ben-Gurion is known to be strongly opposed to any public investigations which could lead, in the present pre-election atmosphere, to the creation of something like a McCarthy atmosphere, stemming from the anti-Left campaign from the Right wing.

Apart from Herut, which clearly intends to use the opportunity offered, the Liberals and Mapam have said they will not seek partisan benefit from the Beer arrest, but they are in fact already doing so by demanding all kinds of inquiries and investigations. Part of this campaign has been to exaggerate the official position held by the accused man.

Importance minimised: In fact, Ben-Gurion received him only six times in five years and sent him in all two written communications, of a rather stereotyped nature, both of which facts have been purposely overlooked by the partisan press, mainly *Herut* and *Haboker*, together with *Ma'ariv* which has once again assumed its "anti-party" role.

At the same time, official circles are going out of their way to minimise the importance of Beer's arrest and to plead that they had been suspicious all along. At one stage, the government spokesman told foreign newsmen that the matter allegedly transmitted to a foreign power only concerned the War of Independence. As one correspondent pointed out, this was history not espionage.

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IN THE NEWS

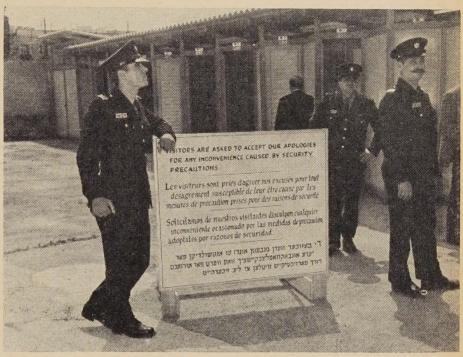
THE ISRAEL PRESS AND ISRAEL BEER

READING THE ACCOUNTS of the arrest of Israel Beer in the Israeli papers has been a disturbing experience. There were no attempts, it seems, to abide by the customary practice when a case is *sub judice*. Beer, for whom I have no cause to hold a brief, was charged, tried and convicted by the Israeli press within hours of the publication of the news of his arrest. Details were published of "discoveries" in his home, of what he was supposed to have said to the police, and he was condemned for the harm he had done.

The evidence produced in court may or may not justify everything that has been written about him. But this practice by Israeli newspapers—and by parties which claim most loudly that they are the true representatives of democracy—is one of the most undemocratic and illiberal forms of journalism. We do not say that the charge is false, but so far it is no more than a charge based on information from the Secret Service. There have been other cases before Beer. In most of them, the accused were ultimately convictedbut not in all of them, and in one case at least a man was executed before he was found to be innocent.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

The Beer case demonstrates again the urgent need for some kind of protection against execution by the press. As things stand, it is difficult to know who is the real culprit: the police for making confidential information available to the press; the editors who publish it without



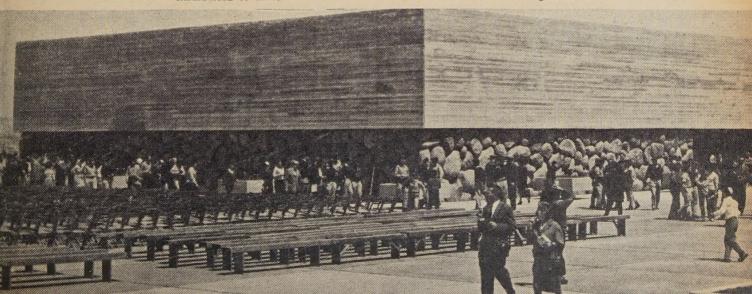
A POLITE GESTURE TO EICHMANN TRIAL VISITORS But isn't there another, more basic, form of decency?

regard to the normal safeguards of an accused person; or the official spokesmen who prejudge the accused as much as do the crime reporters in their lurid reportage? There are certain decencies in law and in the use of the press which are observed in all democratic countries. They have been displayed to advantage in the Eichmann trial, and they have been shamefully set aside in the comment on the Beer case.

If anything, the intervention of the political parties, including the Liberal Party, is even worse. They are the law-makers and they should set an example.

Instead, the new Liberals, Herut, Mapam and Ahdut Avoda, have started a political campaign which assumes the complete guilt of Beer. Its purpose, of course, is to embarrass the Ben-Gurion establishment for having employed Beer in a post of some confidence. One naturally compares this with the press and opposition treatment of the recent spy case in London. Not a word was said, or a public action taken either in the press or in Parliament which might have prejudiced the defence—and the evidence from the moment of capture was overwhelming. Not a single London paper mentioned

"TABERNACLE OF REMEMBRANCE" IN JERUSALEM--Israel's reminder to the generations



the fact until after the trial that the real name of the Krogers was Cohen, or that they had been associated with the Rosenbergs. It makes me blush when I compare this with the Israeli press on Beer, or the actions of the Liberal, Herut, Mapam and Ahdut Avoda defenders of democracy who have had no time to wait for the courts to pass judgment.

One serious consequence of the affair can already be seen in Israeli life. Whatever the outcome of the Beer trial, the press treatment of the affair has introduced an element of distrust into Israeli life which has always been noteworthy by its absence. In one sense, it may do no harm, but if it becomes exaggerated into a kind of second-hand McCarthyism, then it will do more damage to Israel than any spy, however highly placed, could ever have done.

Surely, the time has come for the

Israeli press to lay down some firm rules of conduct for itself and to impress on the government and police the need to maintain proper standards of official secrecy and due safeguards against contempt of court.

REMEMBERING THE WARSAW GHETTO

ALREADY IN ITS FIRST WEEK, the Eichmann trial has brought home to the world one aspect of the war of which it was only hazily conscious. This has been shown in a number of different ways, but mostly in the manner in which the reports of the trial have assumed a kind of compulsive character. People don't want to hear about the massacres, but they find themselves listening to the reports on the radio, watching them on television and reading them in the papers.

As James Morris said in his profound report in Tuesday's Guardian, the trial has opened a window into the Jewish

One example was last week's commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. This had become in recent years an occasion only for the ever fewer in number of the older generation. Last week, it became an event which was reported from Jerusalem in every national newspaper, shown on television and attended by a large crowd in London, and greeted by a message from President Kennedy in New York. The commemoration at the Princes Theatre in London over which the Chairman of the Zionist Federation, Mr. Jacob Halevy, presided, was a moving and instructive occasion. And Mr. Halevy's plea that the Chancellor should stop taxing the compensation paid to victims of the Nazis received a speedy response in the budget.

But as I watched the trial and listened to the speeches on Sunday, I felt that one great unanswered question which may well remain for history to settle at the end of the trial is, why did no others follow the example of Warsaw; why did not they, too, go down fighting?

MR. ATIYAH FORGETS—AND THE "J.C." WOULD LIKE TO

WE PRINT a curious letter from Edward Atiyah, the press adviser of the Iraqi Embassy, on page 21. He is concerned lest we thought that there was anything derogatory in our reference to his work for his Iraqi masters. He points out that "in common parlance" this phrase carries a pejorative meaning. Let me reassure Mr. Atiyah, The JEWISH OBSERVER is written in standard English, not in common parlance, and far from derogating his position we think that General Kassem is most ably served.

But while we are on the subject, I am surprised that Mr. Atiyah is not equally squeamish about his own use of language. He has ("impersonally"!) accused me of inventing our man in Baghdad. I have invited him to come and look at the copy for himself. But he has not withdrawn his accusation nor accepted the offer to come and verify the facts. Now, what should I call this "in common parlance"? Perhaps I should consult the Jewish Chronicle. They made the same charge; they had the same offer from me to come and verify the facts; and they together with the Iraqi Embassy, seem to prefer the embarrassment of silence rather than acknowledge the JEWISH OBSERVER'S Baghdad correspond-



ISRAEL'S LIBERAL HOUR ON THE EVE OF THE MERGER

Professor J. K. Galbraith, Kennedy's new Ambassador to India, recalls that Adlai Stevenson once referred to the period immediately preceding an election as one when even the most obsolete of men become reconciled, if only briefly and expediently, to the machine age. Stevenson thought that this pause might be called "the liberal hour."

This may sound harsh to some, and unkind to others. It may also be a little unfair to the genuine liberals who are tarred with the same brush. But no one who has had to watch and report on general elections in the western world can say that there is not more than a grain of truth in this Stevensonian truism. And nowhere more so than in Israel just now, on the eve of the merger conference of the Progressive Party and the General Zionists.

* * *

The JEWISH OBSERVER, as readers may have noticed, has had some reservations about this forthcoming event; we have expressed them and explained them, and one result has been that I have received a number of public and some private complaints to the effect that we were not being fair to the new Liberal Party. I was told that everyone in Israel, from Mapai to Herut, had welcomed this consolidation of liberal forces; only we had remained as a voice of discord. I was told that there was no fear of the merger going further right; on no account would the Progressives join up with Herut.

I was also told that this was for the good of the country, for at last there would be a powerful and responsible opposition party to Mapai, and this would be able to become the nucleus of an alternative government to Mapai.

* * *

Now let me explain to my critics why the JEWISH OBSERVER has not been convinced by these explanations, and why, quite irrespective of the Israeli reaction, we have had doubts about the desirability of forming this so-called Liberal Party. For we know of no precedent in any democratic country where the fusion of a Liberal Party with a Conservative Party (both numerically and organisationally much stronger) has not produced, in the end, a conservative party with a liberal label.

The first reason for our critical attitude is, therefore, that the Progressive Party in Israel has compromised the cause of

genuine liberalism in Israel by associating with the principal anti-labour spokesmen in Israeli politics.

Our second reason for being critical is the fallacy of the argument that the new Liberal Party can be the nucleus of a liberal alternative to Mapai. But what kind of alternative would that be? At present, the new Liberal Party has 14 seats of the 120 in the Knesset. With exceptional luck, it might get twenty at the next election. Who then will provide the remainder?

Clearly, not the parties of the Left. So that leaves Herut, and the whole gamut of the religious parties. But the Mizrachi, with its strong labour wing, will not be able to join an anti-labour coalition. And then all that is left for the alternative is Herut. But the Progressives say that they will not make common front with Herut. So what is left of the alternative majority?

* * *

The answer is that, the Liberal Party, with or without Herut, will not be an alternative to Mapai. What then will be its function in Israeli politics? There has been a last-minute switch by some of my Progressive Party critics. They—though not their General Zionist partners—are beginning to concede that the Liberals will be no alternative; but, they say, they will be a much more important group, a responsible and powerful opposition party. But here again, we must ask: opposition to what?

It may help if I recall one of Laski's most important constitutional lessons, which he taught to so many of Israel's politicians. "Constitutional principles and forms," he wrote in his introduction to his Parliamentary Government, "do not operate in a vacuum of abstract reason. They are a method intended to secure the triumph of certain ends; they are shaped to the purposes of those ends. The English State of the last 250 years is the institutional expression of that Liberalism which . . . was the affirmation of the right of property owners to be protected against arbitrary interference in the enjoyment of their property. The business of the State was to find the terms upon which that enjoyment could be most amply protected."

Using the same argument, it can be said that the present Israeli State is the institutional expression of a compromise between labour and capital, but in which labour plays the dominant role. An alternative government of the Right, which is

the only possible alternative, would be practicable, therefore, only if the dominant role of labour were broken.

* * *

Let us be clear, therefore, what we are discussing when we talk of a liberal alternative to Mapai. I am not concerned here whether it would be a good or a bad solution; what is clear to me is that Israel cannot afford this approach to politics, this division of the country into classes in conflict with each other.

Let me recall another incident which has considerable bearing on this debate. At the beginning of 1952, a group of State Department specialists called a seminar in Washington at which possible forms of encouraging development in the Middle East were discussed. One conclusion was that the existing outward forms of democracy made it impossible to carry through any kind of democratic land reform, simply because the governments and parliaments were packed with landlords and their agents. Instead, they favoured a form of progressive military dictatorship.

Now Israel is much more fortunate. Her Parliament is no obstacle to reform. She has powerful trade unions and cooperatives. She has an uncorrupted civil service and competent and loyal defence forces. But she also has a body of practices in the administration, and in government, which are in urgent need of reform.

* * :

But if we have to wait for the Liberal Party to become the alternative government, in the face of the combined opposition of labour, then it will be a long time before these reforms are carried out. And Israel cannot afford to wait.

What the country needs for the next five or ten years is to overhaul itself so as to bring itself into line with the new needs of our times. Much that was improvised or achieved by compromise in the past, will have to go. But such reforms can only be executed by a national government, not in the midst of party warfare. Moreover, in the field of education, foreign policy and security, Israel needs a concerted, constructive national effort.

So far, the new Liberal Party has provided evidence only of further division, and of deeper division than ever before. What Israel needs is not an alternative government but a better, more efficient and more constructive government, able to carry through the far-reaching reformation that only a national government can achieve.

Jon Kimche

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PRESS

EICHMANN ARGUMENTS BORED REPORTERS

FURTHER THOUGHTS ON FAIRNESS OF TRIAL

It is difficult to know what they expected, those hard-headed Fleet Street news editors, when they dispatched their teams of star reporters and top-flight colour men to Jerusalem for the Eichmann trial.

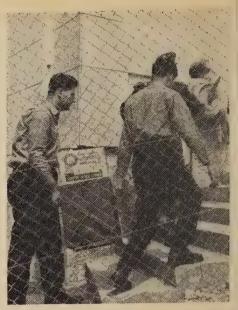
A mass demonstration of Jewish vengeance, perhaps? The spectacle of a tattooed nation sobbing in the streets? A hangman's noose dangling from the judges' bench? They were not prepared, certainly, for the long hours of legal argument which marked the opening days of the trial and sent their highly-paid correspondents into the coffee bars, while the often forgotten but solidly valuable news agency men took over.

Even the actual drama of the opening hour, in the uncluttered and non-traditional setting of a public meeting hall, somehow got lost in the anxious search for journalistic colour. And the colour itself was frequently blurred.

The whole significance: To the Mail's Vincent Mulchrome, Eichmann "desperately lonely, balding monster" in a dark-blue suit which "would never pass the inspection of a Jewish tailor in Leeds." George Gale of the Express, however, found the suit "well enough cut" and his shirt spotless white. In the eyes of John Akass of the Herald, Eichmann was a "grey man in a grey suit," and to the Telegraph's Colin Welch he had an air of Christie, "the same dim appearance, the same dreamy, petit bourgeois respectability."

Of them all, only the Guardian's brilliantly perceptive James Morris caught the bite at the heart of high drama with his simply effective introduction: "At eleven o'clock this morning, the twenty-fifth day of Nissan in the Hebrew year 5721, Adolf Eichmann, the German, appeared before a Jewish Court in Jerusalem charged with crimes against the Jewish people—and in that very sentence, I suspect, I am recording the whole significance of this tragic and symbolic hearing."

It was Morris, too, who sat through the interminable legal wrangling over the admissibility of evidence and Israel's right to try Eichmann and imbued his reporting of what the others found dry with the feel of Israel's search after



THE TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF NISSAN Lunch box for the accused

justice, which some have been stupid enough to call vengeance.

Arranged? And when the court adjourned for a day on Thursday, for the traditional remembrance of the Nazi holocaust, it was Morris who felt the meaning of this deliberate symbolism of "perpetual, unrelenting, unwavering, unforgiving remembrance." His colleague of the Express, Colin Lawson, could only give expression to his belief that "this rekindling of national anger against the Germans" had been arranged to coincide with the beginning of the Eichmann trial.

While some still had their doubts by the weeks' end of the correctness of the Israelis in bringing Eichmann to trial, none of them had anything but admiration for the spirit of fairness which imbued the three judges on the bench.

The "Sunday men," however, had had more time to chew things over, to the extent, in the case of a number of the more "popular" papers, that the name of Eichmann never appeared at all. The arrest of an Israel army officer on espionage charges provided more colourful copy.

"Passionate desire for justice": An exception on this wing of the press was Lord Russell of Liverpool who is covering the trial for the News of the World. The former Nuremberg prosecutor was concerned with suggestions that Eichmann might not be getting a fair trial because his judges were Jews. There was a simple answer to this criticism, said his lordship. "With the eyes of the whole world upon this trial, if any injustice is done it will be clearly seen."

If there are going to be any unfavourable reactions to this trial, as many Israelis feared and as many correspond-

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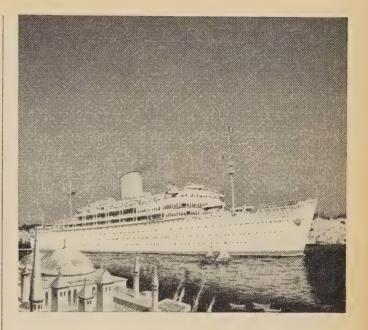
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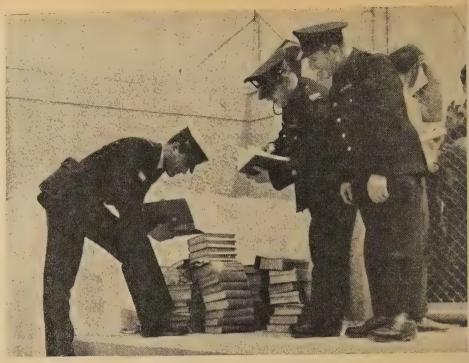
ents prophesied, "the blame will not lie upon those who are judging Eichmann, but upon those who are judging the trial itself before it has scarcely begun."

Patrick O'Donovan in the Observer was also taken up with criticisms of the trial. It would be a vulgarisation, he wrote, to describe this trial as a propaganda exercise on the part of the Israeli Government, or more particularly of Ben-Gurion. "There is here a passionate desire for justice, not really for Eichmann himself or for Israel itself but for the dead. The actual punishment of the man in the glass case is beside the point. Yet in a sense these legal preliminaries are for the foreigners. The Israelis have no doubt of their competence to try this man."

Trevor-Roper's view: Professor Hugh Trevor-Roper, reporting the trial for the Sunday Times perhaps said it best of all. "Some correspondents," he noted, "have shown signs of impatience at the protracted legalism of this first week... But I cannot agree. Indeed, although Dr. Hausner can be long-winded, I found it impressive, even, at times, dramatic."

"For as I listened to those endless English and American precedents, and heard the familiar domestic names of Coke and Blackstone and Dicey echoing somewhat strangely in this claim of an ancient oriental people against a modern German barbarism, I saw clearly that the Israeli Government, in spite of all the emotion which it does not fear to revive among the people, is resolved that the case against Eichmann shall rest, in its basis as in its conduct, not on a mere demand for retribution, however just, nor on moral claims, however irrefutable, but, visibly and unmistakably, on the established theory and practice of civilised States.'

Such considerations were, however, far from the mind of Klaus Eichmann, eldest son of the man in the glass cage, who spoke to reporters in Buenos Aires at the weekend. Klaus Eichmann, 25 and mar-



THE WORD OF THE LAW IN JERUSALEM
Part of the prosecution's legal ammunition—familiar names in an unfamiliar setting

ried, walked into the local Reuter's office to volunteer an interview because, he said, of the way his views had been misreported in the Argentinian press.

A different approach: In an earlier interview with La Prensa, he was reported to have said that he did not know until after the kidnapping that the man seized in Argentina was in fact his father. He thought his father had been killed in the war and that the man he knew as Richard Klement was a distant relative.

In his interview with Reuter's Buenos Aires office, however, Klaus Eichmann asserted that his father had tried to find a "bloodless solution" to the "Jewish problem," but had been prevented by his superiors and by the Jews themselves. "In my opinion, the trial by the Jerusalem court is unfair because the judges cannot be considered to be either unprejudiced or just. My father was kidnapped

against his will—and any other interpretation is childish."

MRS. EICHMANN CALLS OUT THE DOG

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS AND "THE TRIAL"

from our own correspondent

Massive coverage of the Eichmann trial by the United States press was excellent in the opening stages, except for one unusual omission on the part of American newsmen: very little attempt was made to cover the human interest story of how Eichmann's family in Buenos Aires was reacting to the whole thing.

It was left to the initiative of one American TV correspondent who took his cameraman down to the motor-car agency where Eichmann had worked as a clerk. The report showed the small, neatly kept desk where Eichmann had sat squeezed in between the work spaces of others. It went over the route that Eichmann had daily traversed as he went home in the evening by factory bus to join a public omnibus for a trip that must have taken him the better part of an hour-and-a-half to two hours a day in each direction.

The cameraman travelled the entire route in the big, fast single-deck vehicles and ended up in the rough, open, prairie-like land where Eichmann had built himself his hideaway home. The house, seen

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from a distance, looked amateurish in construction — perhaps the reports that Eichmann himself had worked on the building are correct—and somewhat unfinished.

Film delay: "I can't get any nearer to the house," the TV reporter complained as he stood several hundred yards away in the prairie, "Mrs. Eichmann set the dog on me."

The first TV film of the trial did not arrive as planned due to a delay in the flight of the plane carrying the film. But this did not prevent the stations from according very adequate coverage to every aspect of the case. On one day alone, there were five feature programmes devoted to the trial, to Eichmann's background, to the massacre of Jews, and to expert views on all aspects of Eichmann's apprehension and trial.

The observance of Martyrs' Day, merged with the Warsaw Ghetto revolt commemoration, received a lot more attention in the United States than ever before, due no doubt to the publicity accorded the Eichmann trial and the one-day recess effected by the commemoration itself.

"Balfour in reverse": If Martyrs' Day is to become another traditional Jewish observation, it will owe much of its status—in this country, at least—to the emphasis put on it this year by the press, radio and TV in filling up their columns and newscasts with an alternative—rather thankfully taken, some suspect — to Gideon Hausner's marathon appearance.

With no trial film available due to the commemoration, one TV programme featured an interview with Lord Russell of Liverpool in Jerusalem. The British lawyer discussed some aspects of the documentation that had been placed at Israel's disposal by other lands (from Russia, nothing; from Poland, some rather back-handed co-operation in the form of a recently produced pamphlet on Eichmann; from Czechoslovakia some material not directly handed over but released at a last-minute press conference).

One of the documents now available to the Israelis, Lord Russell stated, was a sort of "Balfour Declaration in reverse." Admitting that this was "something none of us knew about," Russell went on to say that the document was a Hitler-Mussolini denial of the rights of Jews to a national home in Palestine, which the Mufti of Jerusalem had allegedly obtained while enjoying Hitler's hospitality.

What Adenauer said: The declaration made by the two dictators said that Palestine was inalienably Arab and that "the question of the Jews there be set-



ON THE OUTSIDE LOOKING IN Defence counsel Servatius in Jerusalem

tled by the Arabs as it was being solved in Europe—and we all know how that was."

As the trial got under way, Chancellor

Adenauer arrived in the United States brooding over the Eichmann affair. One major Chicago newspaper reported that Adenauer had tried to get the Israelis to postpone the trial for fear his American visit would be clouded by "odious recollections of Hitler's treatment of Jews during World War II."

And the Chancellor did not improve things when he declared that there was no lingering trace of Nazi sentiment surviving in "the moral life of the German people." His judgment—the New York Post said in a lead article—"clashed with many sober reports from Germany. It is at variance with all the earnest educational efforts being conducted by his own government, perhaps belatedly, to combat the Nazi poison.

"Candour would have better served his cause. Chancellor Adenauer's statement as the Eichmann trial began did justice neither to himself nor to the intelligence of the free world . . . perhaps if the Bonn government had caught and tried Eichmann many years ago, or had shown an active interest in doing so now, Adenauer would be less obliged to take such frantic measures to win the confidence of mankind now."



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NASSER'S SPENDING SPREE

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President Nasser's United Arab Republic plans to spend more than £903 million in the coming financial year, an increase of £110 million over the previous year. The Egyptian Region will take nearly £74 million of the increase in its £774 million share of the total.

The major portion of expenditure in the Egyptian Region is being earmarked for agriculture, irrigation, drainage, the High Dam, industry, fuel, communications and the Suez Canal—a total of £400 million. An item of £112 million is for "defence, justice and security."

Education is to get £67 million, social and religious services £59 million, health £18 million, supplies £17 million and housing £14 million.

Surprise in Syria: The regional budgets are divided into two distinct categories, ordinary and production, although funds are interchangeable for certain allied purposes. The ordinary budget this year for Egypt is set at £335 million, compared with expenditure of £301 million last year. The government is reckoning on a surplus of income over expenditure in the ordinary budget of £88 million.

This surplus is normally applied to the production budget, together with income from foreign grants and loans. This year's production budget is £315 million.



KAISSUNY'S LESSON IN DEMOCRACY All men are free-but some are more restricted than others

National organisations with independent budgets will receive £97 million.

It is hoped to balance Syria's ordinary budget of about £92 million, but the surprise—on paper, at least—is the increase in the northern region's development budget of £30 million to a total of £72 million, an indication of the U.A.R.'s anxiety to start making some positive mark on the economy of its depressed partner.

Warning to the disgruntled: In a statement to the National Assembly in Cairo last week, Finance Minister Moneim Kaissuny said that among the basic principles which had guided the drafting of the budget were the aim of holding ordinary expenditure to the minimum in order to gear the biggest portion of public revenues "towards achieving the aims of the socialist, democratic, co-operative

Explaining what he meant by his repeated use of the phrase "economic democracy," the ideal toward which he was aiming, Kaissuny said this "means that we respect individual economic freedom, but should such individual economic freedom clash with the economic interest of society as a whole, we give preference to society and favour its economic freedom over that of individual freedom, on the grounds that the economy of society is the economy of the majority, and the preservation of the national economy is more important and worthy of care than the economic freedom of a handful of people."

In a passage obviously addressed to disgruntled Syrians, Kaissuny declared that: "When we speak about economic guidance in the U.A.R., we mean the purging of our economy of feudalism, exploitation, monopoly and opportunism; we also mean increasing the country's production, and the channelling of the people's production in the interest of the people themselves, rather than allowing it to be exploited by a handful of people: we mean that capital should be free as long as it is in the public interest."

State intervention essential: It was the intention of the U.A.R., he declared, to

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close the gap between the various classes and to do away with the domination of capital. To achieve the aims of industrialisation, to increase national income and raise living standards, as well as to secure social justice, it was essential that the "State intervene and guide investments on to the true path."

Today, stated Kaissuny, the national per capita income was only £52. This was low compared with the level which the government wanted to achieve. It was for this reason that a comprehensive development programme was adopted last year. The State had begun implementing this plan and was "pushing it forward with faith and determination in order that we may be able to attain our objectives in the shortest possible time."

Not all the measures outlined by the Finance Minister were directed so positively toward productive ends. New decrees, measures and regulations, for example, require new administrators and, in order to provide the wages for them, it has been decided to go slow on salary increases for higher grade civil servants.

Administration takes more: Subsidies are to be increased so as to lower what Kaissuny admits is the high cost of living. The government intends taking a greater hand in the distribution of essential supplies and has promised, without saying how, "to secure vital commodities for the people at very moderate prices." Increased charges by public utilities also seem to be in the offing.

But, while asking bigger sacrifices from everyone else, the government, by the very nature of its snowballing economic legislation, is taking more money to finance its own operations. The Ministries and public services are to receive a total appropriation this year of £141 million—an increase of £12 million over last year.

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IRAQ'S DEMANDS ON I.P.C.

KASSEM OUT ON A LIMB

from our own correspondent

Baghdad:

Just what is it that Kassem, pushed by the growing force of nationalists from behind, is demanding from the Iraq Petroleum Company? In the first place, he wants "financial rights" in the company, with Iraq participating as a shareowning member.

The amount that Kassem claims is put at 20 per cent, just a little less than the French share, which is what he is really after. The I.P.C., though it plays dumb, knows this, and so does everyone else, including the French oil interests. The I.P.C., however, fears to mention it lest the French retaliate in the Sahara.

Then Kassem wants an increased share in the profits. The traditional 50 per cent is not regarded as enough. The Iraqis want 75 per cent—and they go on to say that the way in which the company computes its profits means that they are, in fact, receiving only 35 per cent. Furthermore, the Iraqis want a complete overhaul of the I.P.C. organisation and a massive recruitment of Iraqis into the system at all the higher levels.

No major upset: But, and this is the point, Kassem cannot press the company too hard. Everyone knows that without I.P.C. money the country would have gone to the dogs long ago, and Kassem needs every penny of the £100 million they are going to provide him with this year. And always there is the spectre of the other Arab oil-producing states which would be only too glad to take advantage of his dilemma by stepping up their own production.

Therefore, he cannot go too far. He has stopped the I.P.C. from making further exploration, a sop to nationalist sentiment and a sign of his own displeasure with the tough line being taken by the company negotiators, but he has not stopped either the production or exportation of the oil. His final threat remains the element of an agreement that the Russians send in their experts to "explore."

This has been given point by repeated talk in the Iraqi press of the need to reduce I.P.C. concessions and "make better use of them."

But there will be no major upset of the company's activities. The one thing the I.P.C. is afraid of is another Abadan scandal; the one thing that Kassem is afraid of is the cessation of oil exports.

This is where they are in agreement. It is worth noting that I.C.P.-produced oil accounts for 90 per cent of the country's total exports.

Hadid's turn-about: One of the interesting, and almost amusing, facts of the present situation is that the man who saved Kassem in the face of the communist demand for a hand-over by the I.P.C. in 1958, who arranged the deal whereby the I.P.C. was guaranteed continued freedom of operations, who fought Ibrahim Kubbah and the combined communist effort to Iraqise the company and thereby saved the national economy, is now actually against the government on the very same issues.

He is former Finance Minister Mohammed Hadid, now the head of his own party which has strong Mosuli backing and probably Baathist backing in and outside of the army. Is he blackmailing the I.P.C. to come to terms with him? This is not an impossibility, for he certainly has a strong chance of heading a government composed of both Left and Right elements.

Another candidate is Ibrahim Kubbah, his old enemy, who still has strong Leftist backing and is in close contact with the oil men. Kubbah is using the very same weapons to thrash Kassem as Hadid. They all know that the I.P.C. is the kingpin and commands the kitty and they all know that any major mistake could upset the Kassem regime and give them a chance to take over. The only question is: how far dare they go?

The pressures which they themselves are under are growing, not only from supporters inside the country, but equally so from advisers outside, Russians, Japanese and Chinese—all of whom might hope to gain from an I.P.C. downfall.

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U.S. AMENDMENT TO "NEUTRAL" RESOLUTION

from our own correspondent

New York:

At the United Nations last week, the Special Political Committee found itself faced with the Arab refugee question when a five-nation resolution (Afghanistan, Malaya, Indonesia, Pakistan and Somalia) was introduced with the intention of having the General Assembly establish machinery to "safeguard" Arab refugee property in Israel and have the Palestine Conciliation Commission act on the reptriation clause of a 1948 U.N. resolution on Palestine.

The resolution initiated a debate that, as might have been predicted, produced another long speech from Ahmed Shukairy, with a masterly rebuttal by Arthur Lourie. It also provided some dirty infighting, as occasional phrases in the

speeches revealed.

Shukairy gave some astronomical figures on the value of the property of the Arab refugees. "In general terms," the Saudi Arabian delegate stated, "the properties of the refugees represent a fabulous wealth or, to use a well-known term, a wealth scandal. The refugees who live now in the U.N. tents own a number of cities in their entirety. I will only mention Jaffa, Acre, Lydda, Ramleh, Beisan, Majdal, Nazareth and Shefaarm, let alone Jerusalem, Safad, Tiberias and Haifa, where Arab ownership is the largest proportion... also they own no less than 388 towns and villages, and parts of 94 other cities and towns... they own at least 10,000 shops apart from hundreds of industrial and agricultural establishments..." And so it went on for a good two hours.

Case for Iraqi Jews: Arthur Lourie turned the debate's spotlight on a different, but related, refugee question: "Mr. Shukairy gave not the slightest hint that half a million Jews have come to Israel from the Arab speaking countries of the Middle East and North Africa. They have come as refugees, leaving behind them all they had.'

He then traced the history and story of the Jews of Iraq "permitted to take with them nothing other than the clothes on their back. This had been a relatively well-to-do community, with a large professional and mercantile element. They

perforce left behind them a vast property in homes and personal possessions which were confiscated by the Iraqi authorities. The distinguished delegate from Saudi Arabia may choose to ignore these facts, but they are relevant facts nonetheless.'

Lourie went on to emphasise that, since 1948, there had been "a great exchange of populations between Israel and the Arab states, but with one major all-important difference. We have said of these Jews, refugees from the Arab countries—these are our brothers and we have taken them to our hearts and home. With great effort and sacrifice: they are being integrated into this small 8,000-square mile country of ours and given a sense of equality and human dignity; and together we are building Israel."

American pressure: "Had the Arabs, with their vast patrimony, done the same: for their brothers," continued Lourie, "there would be no refugee problem ... as to the property of these Jewish refugees, we have vet to learn that the: Arab countries concerned would be ready to pay compensation for what they were forced to leave behind, let alone accept a United Nations Administrator or custodian or machinery" (as the Arabs suggest for Palestine) "to deal with property within their territories."

For some time the United States and other nations have been trying to convince the Arabs to drop the property provision in the resolution. It got as far as a United States amendment to the fivenation resolution, deleting the suggestions on property but proposing that the: refugees' future be reviewed when the Assembly meets later in the year. This led to some of the Arab nations charging that the U.S.A. was "serving the policy" and interest of Israel," to which the U.S. replied that any political discord injected into the issue was of Arab manufacture and not American.

In turn, Iraq and Libya have proposed a series of amendments to the American amendments, with the purpose of nullifying them. The Americans spent the weekend trying to rustle up enough support for their line and in opposition to the Arabs.

But even if the Iraq-Libya amendments get passed by the Special Political Committee, they still have to be approved by a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly and this is a very doubtful probability so long as the U.S. sticks to its guns.

At this moment, the likelihood is that the whole question of the refugees' future -and that of UNRWA will be put off until later in the year.

LIBYA

NOT ALL FOR NASSER

INDEPENDENT TREND DISCERNIBLE

from a special correspondent

Tripoli:

Something like 10,000 Italians have left here in the last twenty months, out of what was a community of 43,000 at the end of 1959—and they are still going.

The restrictions placed by the government on foreign business are a major cause of this European withdrawal. But there is another basic cause: the fear of an impending internal upheaval in this, at present, misleadingly peaceful country.

Until quite recently, it could have been said without much fear of contradiction that pro-Nasserism was the unanimously held sentiment of ordinary Libyans. But there has been a notable change. Reports of Egyptian fumbling and interference in Syria and rumours of President Nasser's increasingly ill-health (always considered by the Arabs as a companion of inefficiency) have lost the U.A.R. several points.

Link-up with Tunis? For the perceptive, there are certain interesting trends to be observed. These might be roughly categorised as:

¶ The nationalist extremists, who favour a Nasser take-over when the reign of King Idris ends (or is terminated);

¶ The 'neutrals," mainly consisting of those belonging to the governing class or being connected with it in

any way;

The pro-westerners and ex-Nasserists, an assorted bunch consisting of a group of influential personalities disillusioned by what they have learned about Nasserism and another group which, in preference to a physical union with Egypt, would rather an ideological union with the more liberal and progressive government of nearby Tunisia and, perhaps, when independence comes, with Algeria.

It must be stressed very strongly, however, that as there is no such thing as political parties in Libya, these trends are without either organisation or identifiable leaders. They are to be discerned mainly through newspapers and what men say to each other in places where they meet and, safest of all, within the confines of their homes.



SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR PROFUMO

Dust off a secret pact

But, without any doubt, the pro-Nasserist trend remains supreme for the moment and would undoubtedly win an effective majority were the matter ever to be put to anything as far-fetched as a democratic vote. The position of the governing class, or neutrals, however, deserves some closer consideration.

Not lost on the King: For, on examination, their position is not as neutral as all that. They cannot, for example, contemplate a Nasser take-over without many qualms. It would, for one thing, mean an end to their financial adventures at the expense of the Libyan tax-payers and the population as a whole, which is now and again granted funds for social purposes which never reach those for whom they are intended. It would also probably mean their displacement by Egyptian officials.

On the other hand, they cannot openly oppose the Nasserists because of the latter's very definite possibility of achieving success in the near future.

These trends and the gathering storm clouds are not unobserved by the ailing King, though the sudden visit at the beginning of this month by British Secretary of State for War Profumo has brought him some reassurance that his tenure of the Libyan throne will last out his life.

Profumo's visit: Under the terms of a long-standing, and in some respects almost secret, pact with Britain, the King can dispose of British troops, at his own request, for the defence of his kingdom. The belief here is that Profumo, during his visit, blew a little of the dust off the pact and put it back within the King's

easy reach, should he ever require it.

But Idris has been taking a little initiative himself in trying to win back some of the common support which was once largely his. Tired of complaints about the inefficiency of the government of Abdulmegid el Cobar, he took the first chance of doing away with it,

The government of Sayed Otman es-Sed, which succeeded it, has shown a larger measure of wisdom than its predecessor. For the first time, direct contacts with the people have been promoted and a long-promised series of agricultural grants have at last been made available.

Free speech: During last week, the Prime Minister made a much publicised visit to the small centres of Zavia and Garian (until a few years ago the home of the Jewish cave dwellers who have all now emigrated to Israel), distributing agricultural title deeds. In Zavia, he made history by being the first Libyan Prime Minister to appear before the people and address them.

Boomerang effect: Another welcome activity by the new government has been the encouragement of public works. For the first time, Tripoli municipality's plan for a series of co-ordinated public works, repeatedly shelved over the years, has been given a grant (£250,000) with which to make a start.

But none of this positive development has done anything to halt the national phobia where Europeans are concerned.

In the long term, however, this can only have a boomerang effect on the national economy. This can be seen from the fact that whereas the Tripoli Municipality was previously granting building licences at the rate of 200 a month, this figure has dropped, since the introduction of regulations curtailing the activities of foreign residents, to as few as five a month.



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PUTTING A POLISH ON EXPORTS

DIAMOND INDUSTRY LOOKS FORWARD TO GOOD YEAR

from our own correspondent

Tel Aviv:

In 1960, Israel exported £21\(^3\) million worth of polished diamonds, despite the fact that all the firms engaged in the industry are small, none of them employing more than a hundred people.

Of the 150 diamond polishing workshops in the country, two thirds employ thirty or fewer workers. Only fifty undertakings employ between thirty and one hundred. The total number of workers engaged in the industry is about 5,000, but steps are being taken to increase this figure by twenty per cent during the next two years.

Both the industry itself and the Government are interested in building up the country's diamond industry, both because of the scope for further expansion, which means bigger export earnings, and also because of the bigger pool of skilled craftsmen an expanded industry will have at its disposal.

Bright future: Experts are confident that the total of 617,864 carats sent abroad last year will be appreciably increased this year, and that future expansion is assured. That they have grounds for this optimism is shown by the table, which demonstrates the great leap forward the Israeli diamond polishing industry has made since 1952.

As the industry has expanded, its needs for rough stones have obviously increased. At one time, the Diamond Trading Corporation supplied only twenty per cent of the total rough diamonds processed. The rest had to be acquired at second or third hand at greatly enhanced prices.

Today the situation has greatly improved. The Diamond Syndicate increased

its monthly allocations last year, and by December they were running at twice the 1958 level. Since the Syndicate handles 90 per cent of the world's diamond output, it is in Israel's interest to try and achieve an even bigger monthly allocation of roughs than hitherto.

Widening the range: Perhaps the most important problem with which the diamond polishers here are now faced is how to diversify their output. At present, they provide between eighty and ninety per cent of the world supply of what are

ISRAEL'S DIAMOND EXPORTS

Year	Value (£ sterling)	Carats
1952	4,093,660	134,570
1953	4,540,200	146,890
1954	5,606,707	183,810
1955	7,362,868	230,700
1956	9,279,628	262,350
1957	12,578,993	341,070
1958	12,136,507	340,580
1959	16,674,420	469,757
1960	21 717 898	617.864

known as melées. There is thus a danger of saturating the market.

There are certainly enough skilled workers in the country to handle better stones, but here again there is a problem—financing. According to the Diamond Manufacturers' Association here, a plant operating in rented premises and employing thirty workers needs a minimum of \$100-120,000 (£35-43,000) working capital—if it processes only melées and does its own exporting.

To handle better quality stones, a firm would need a higher working capital. Since interest rates here are high—8-9 per cent is charged by the banks—

there is little incentive for firms to change over to handling other types of stones.

Higher added value: On the other hand, diversification could also be achieved by handling cheaper stones as well. Since many of these have a higher added value than melées' 20-25 per cent, the Government is interested in seeing that a larger proportion of the cheaper stones should be processed and exported, and financial measures to encourage this are under consideration.

Despite its problems, however, the industry as a whole is full of confidence. Bigger export figures are the order of the day, and to everyone in diamonds here prospects look pretty rosy.

JOURNALIST TURNS HOTELIER

Israel has a new first-class hotel, the Avia, opened recently at Savyon, a few miles from Lydda Airport. It is the brain-child of a professional journalist, Theodore Levitte, its managing director, and has been built with the assistance of a group of Californian investors and a loan from the U.S. Export-Import Bank.

Financial success is already assured—nearly all the airlines using Lydda have signed contracts for the accommodation of their crews at the 100-room hotel which has direct telephone communication with the traffic department at the airport. There is also a round the clock taxi service with Lydda and Tel Aviv.

Transit passengers, for whom the hotel is primarily intended, will benefit from the management's determination to keep 20 per cent of the rooms free until 6 p.m. each evening for late arrivals. When they get there they will find air-conditioned rooms equipped with telephone, radio and private bathrooms. A duty free shop on the premises will be open 24 hours a day, as will the restaurant and snack bar.

TOURISTS LIKE GOING BY SHIP

It is not only the airlines which are doing well on the Israel route. Some of the shipping lines are pulling in the passengers in ever-increasing numbers. Early this year, the Royal Mail Lines ship *Andes*, a 27,000 tonner, was fully booked up for a Haifa cruise which also took in Gibraltar, Messina and Lisbon.

The Israel Tourist Board had organised a special welcome, which was reported as having bettered anything similar at other ports of call, and the passengers must have liked it, because a second Haifa cruise by the *Andes* scheduled for the first three weeks of July is already heavily booked.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ATIYAH OBJECTS

Sir,-I am writing this letter in my personal capacity, not as Press Adviser to the Iraqi Embassy in London, since you have chosen to attack me by name for something written in a publication issued impersonally by the organisation for which I work.

I take strong exception to the sentence in which you refer to my "Iraqi masters" (my italics). In common parlance this phrase carries a pejorative meaning, implying that the person thus referred to is a hireling with no integrity or independence of mind.

In this sense I have never acknowledged a master except my own convictions and conscience. To this fact you yourself bore eloquent testimony in your issue of July 11, 1958 in an article headed "Why did Ativa Blast his Premier?" At that time the Premier of Iraq was Nuri es-Said, and you expressed astonishment that "the Information Officer of the Iraqi Embassy in London (myself) was on the air in one of the B.B.C.'s star programmes. But he did not back up what his Prime Minister (Nuri Pasha, as they still call him at Claridges) had said. Far from it, in heated tones, he disowned almost everything that Nuri had said." Then you went on to incite the then Prime Minister to dismiss me from my post by saying "but can Nuri accept so blatant and public a slap in the face from one of his junior officials without doing something

I shall be grateful if you will publish

Edward Atiyah

Vale Close. Twickenham, Middx.

(see MR. A. FORGETS, page 10)

"NEW OUTLOOK" **AGAIN**

Sir,—The main point which you try to make is that, while the Middle East magazine New Outlook pretends to serve as a free platform, its policy follows, in reality, a "strict Mapam line." In addition, you wonder whether any of the "well-intentioned liberal" sponsors of New Outlook have lately had a look at the magazine they are sponsoring.

As an illustration for your argument, you bring up a review in the March-April issue of New Outlook (written by Mr. P. Merhav) of the Fabian pamphlet Middle East Issues. You are, of course, fully entitled to praise your editorial of February 10 as "restrained and reasoned," but it certainly was far removed from "confining itself to asking questions" about the official or personal character of the proposals made by Messrs. Ennals and Campbell in

the aforementioned pamphlet. Like many other of your readers, I remember quite well, the "restrained and reasoned" title of your editorial-"Unworthy of Consideration," as well as your remarks that the suggestions in the pamphlet "will receive considerable encouragement from Israel's opponents in the Middle East," and that "a greater sense of realism among some of Labour's publicists might also help."

As to the proposals themselves, you now claim that you had only questioned the one suggesting "the placing of a ceiling to Jewish immigration." Yet, if that were so, you would have been in full agreement with Mr. Merhav's review, in which he criticised th above proposal as strongly as you yourself did, and certainly no less convincingly. The real controversy between your editorial and his review can be found in your quite differing attitudes to the other proposals made in the Fabian pamphlet (refugees, military administration, etc.) and in consequence, in your quite differing evaluation of the pamphlet as a whole and of its general approach and spirit.

(Dr.) M. Levin

Circus Road. N.W.8.

> [Dr. Levin carefully avoids the real charge that I made against Merhav's article in New Outlook. Its quotations were no quotations, its references were no references, and its attributions of policy to the JEWISH OBSERVER were wholly misleading. The leading article to which Merhav took exception explained in moderate and reasoned language ("raged," was Merhav's description) the way in which the authors of the Fabian pamphlet had departed from the documents from which they said they had worked. We wanted to clear up an important point: were these their own personal opinions or was the proposal to put a ceiling on Jewish immigration into Palestine, a matter which had been discussed by the working party of the Labour Party's National Executive? Why Merhav should object to the question and do so in this offensive manner, and why New Outlook published the illmannered review, I cannot answer. I can only guess. Incidentally, the pamphlet was hailed in the last issue of the Iraqi Embassy's bulletin as an example of Labour's new realism towards Israel. Ed.—J.O.]

DEMOCRATIC PROCEDURE?

Sir.—At the recent Annual Conference of the Zionist Federation, the Mapam delegation strongly protested against the raising of "previous question" on all its amendments. In reply to this protest, the chairman and spokesmen of the National Executive denied that the raising of previous question was undemocratic and said that it was constitutionally justified and quite customary. They also asked what right Mapam had in urging the Conference to accept all its views and to "dominate the Conference." In my opinion, this line of argument is far removed from the point.

Mapam's indignation was aroused by the fact that "previous question" was raised regarding amendments dealing with exactly the same subjects as the resolutions put before the Conference by the National Executive (Neo-Nazism, Middle East tension, Arab refugees), but with differing views, instead of treating both points of view equally by brief discussion and a free vote. Secondly, Mapam's protest was based on the fact that the raising of "previous question" by the majority did not happen just once, but was raised three times, i.e. against 100 per cent of their political amendments. As quantity turns into quality, so if the raising of "previous question" even in one case out of three is questionable (but perhaps still within the frame-work of democracy), the use of this ruling against all Mapam's amendments certainly adds up to an undemocratic approach, to which no minority whatsoever could concede. The prerogative of the majority to make decisions is only one aspect of democracy; obligation of giving the minority a fair chance and equal treatment before the final decision, is another.

P. Merhav

Broadhurst Gardens. London, N.W.6.

NO PARTY STRIFE

Sir.—In your issue of March 31, there occurs the following passage in the report of Mr. E. Chanan's speech at the recent Zionist Federation Conference:

"It was only right to have a Confederation branch in Israel, so that immigrants could maintain their connections with the group. Hitachdut Olei Britannia had already run into party strife, while the sort of branch he was advocating would be non-political."

My colleagues and I were astonished to read this statement. We know of no "party strife" in which we have been involved. H.O.B. has never sought party affiliations, indulges in no political activities and, to my knowledge, this is the first time that any suggestion to the contrary has ever been

It is clear from the context of Mr. Chanan's remarks that these were meant to reflect adversely on the H.O.B., the obvious inference being that our usefulness is limited by reason of party involvement. If Mr. Chanan has any evidence or proof of his assertion, let him make it public.

Tillie Silman Chairman, National Executive Hitachdut Olei Britannia. Jerusalem, Israel.

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MAPAM DISCUSSION GROUP. 37 Broadhurst Gardens, N.W.6. "Israel's Foreign Policy at the Crossroads," introduced by P. Merhav. 8.0 p.m.

Sunday, April 30

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Sat. 22nd April: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Editorial Opinion. 9.35 Cantoral Music: Selections from Hallel, 9.45 News Headlines.

Sun, 23rd April: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Heritage: The Jews of Istanbul. 9.40 In the Jewish World. 9.45 News Headlines.

Mon. 24th April: 9.15 The News, 9.25 News-real (including Person on the Biohuman, Trial).

Mon. 24th April: 9.15 The News. 9.25 News-reel (including Report on the Eichmann Trial). 9.45 News Headlines, Tues. 25th April: 9.15 The News. 9.25 Com-mentary, 9.30 The Eichmann Trial: Report on the Proceedings, 9.35 Israel's Marching Songs. 9.45 News Headling

mentary, 9.30 The Eichmann Trial: Report on the Proceedings, 9.35 Israel's Marching Songs. 9.45 News Headlines.
Wed. 26th April: 9.15 The News, 9.25 Report on the Eichmann Trial, 9.30 Songs About Israel's Flowers, 9.45 News Headlines.
Thurs, 27th April: 9.15 The News, 9.25 The Eichmann Trial: Report on the Proceedings, 9.35 Easy Hebrew Conversation, with Yehuda Goodman, 9.45 News Headlines.

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BOOKS

AFTER FIFTEEN YEARS: BEVIN AND ATTLEE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS NUMBER TWO, edited by Albert Hourani; 167 pp., no index; (Chatto & Windus) 18s.

A PRIME MINISTER REMEMBERS, by Francis Williams; 264 pp.; index; (Heinemann) 21s.

The opening study in this second volume of Middle Eastern Affairs is a 48-page essay by Elizabeth Monroe on "Mr. Bevin's 'Arab Policy'". In it she asks how Bevin became known as a pro-Arab when, in fact, he was nothing of the kind. The answer, according to Miss Monroe, is not to be found in his policy towards Egypt, Syria or Transjordan; it has to be sought in Palestine. It was because of his opposition to Zionist demands that he was branded a pro-Arab.

To begin with, I feel that Miss Monroe is not quite fair to Bevin or the Labour Party. She accuses them of deliberately playing down the Russian danger to the Middle East at the end of the war. She also makes the same charge against the Arab leaders. In fact, the Left and the Arabs, and particularly Bevin, were in the late autumn and winter of 1945 much more aware and vocal about the implications of Soviet policy than the Middle East experts of the Foreign Office, or the Americans, Bevin's tough language at the meetings of the Foreign Ministers in London in January 1946 shocked the Americans and the French, and was far from popular in Foreign Office quarters.

Bevin misunderstood

In the same way, Miss Monroe loads her dice when she explains why Bevin did not stick to the White Paper of 1939, which restricted further Jewish immigration almost to zero. She suggests that it was due to the powerful pro-Zionism in the Labour Party and because a pro-Jewish policy would bring Labour popularity among the electors. Actually, neither of these two elements had very much influence on either Bevin or Attlee. What swaved them much more was something which Miss Monroe does not mention in this context—the 600,000 Jews in the camps of Europe, and a nagging reminder about them from Washington.

It is only later that Miss Monroe comes to deal with the conditions in the camps, and the problem they presented. Unfortunately, she accepts as her authority the American lawyer Morris Ernst, and immediately falls a victim to his muddled inaccuracies. She quotes him as an example to illustrate conditions in 1943, whereas Ernst was writing (without making it clear) about 1948. On the strength of Ernst's wholly disproved argument, Miss Monroe suggests that Bevin's resentment of the Zionists was due to the Zionist refusal to let the refugee Jews go to any country other than Palestine.

Was Attlee responsible?

I do not think this is correct. Bevin repeatedly expressed his resentment of Truman — and of other countries — who refused to open their doors to large numbers of Jewish refugees. He knew only too well that the onus of blame was not on the Zionists. This does not explain his almost irrational attitude to the Zionist spokesmen, Weizmann, Ben-Gurion, Sharett and many others experienced it. Isaiah Berlin once said, I believe, that Bevin was under the impression that Israel was inhabited by half a million Harold Laskis, and that this explained his feeling about Zionism. But, in fact, when he first went to the Foreign Office Bevin held none of these views. Sir Frederick Leggett, who was his Permanent Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Labour and his close friend afterwards, has said that Bevin was at first anxious to turn Palestine into a model for the whole Middle East, but that he was discouraged and re-educated by his Foreign Office advisers. Harold Beeley has explained Bevin's attitude as stemming from his marked anti-Semitism. I found none of Bevin's colleagues at the time who would underwrite Miss Monroe's explanation for Bevin's dislike of the Zion-

But Miss Monroe misunderstands Bevin's whole approach to the problem. Bevin was a politician. He fought the Zionists as a politician. He did not make the mistake which Miss Monroe makes in describing the *Exodus* as "a piece of racketeering." He understood that there was a political purpose behind the campaign of illegal immigration, and he fought it. But he also respected it—and this is something which many of Bevin's latter-day apologists have failed to understand. Nor was British policy as neutral as Miss Monroe suggests.

Bevin wanted to intervene in Haifa and was opposed by Montgomery. He sent a cruiser and a battalion of troops to Jaffa (in April 1948!) and ordered General Macmillan to restore the city to the Arabs. But it was too late. He intervened with Bernadotte and he intervened most forcibly with a threat of war when the Israelis reached el Arish in January 1949. There are a number of other claims in this brief essay that would seem to require further consideration.

But the most telling comment on Miss Monroe's image of Bevin comes from his own Prime Minister. Mr. Attlee's memory as presented by Francis Williams, can be a pretty shattering instrument, especially when he quotes from actual letters and documents. I would say that his own account of the situation and of his policy in the Middle East is about the most damning comment on the Labour Government's Middle East-and especially its Palestine-policy that I have yet read. It is ignorant, petty, unimaginative and prim. No one who knew Bevin would have accused him of any of these things. In fact, the most significant aspect of Bevin's "Arab policy" which is wholly overlooked by Miss Monroe is that it was to a very large extent Attlee's policy and not his

Bevin and Attlee clash

Bevin wanted to hold the Middle East. Attlee wanted to withdraw. Bevin wanted to intervene imaginatively with economic schemes of progress. Attlee wanted to get out. And even one of Bevin's most condemned phrases in the whole Palestine conflict, when in November 1945 he charged the Zionist leaders with trying to push to the head of the queue, is not his, but Attlee's. Two months before Bevin used the phrase on September 16; 1945, Attlee had written to President Truman that "his" officers in the camps could not place the Jews at the head of the queue without producing serious repercussions. As usual, Bevin merely refined the phrase in his customary man-

The more one reads of this period of the Labour Government, the clearer it becomes how great was the impact of the Palestine conflict on its policy—only it remained hardly aware of it. And neither do Miss Monroe and Francis Williams. And as long as the impact of the Palestine conflict on the future of the British position in the Middle East is brushed aside, it will be difficult to make a real assessment of Bevin's Arab policy—without quotation marks.

Jon Kimche

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NOW FOR PHASE TWO — CANVASSING

FIELD WORK TO BRING IN EXTRA THOUSANDS

The J.P.A. administrative committee now feels that the 1961 campaign for Israel faces the second and most crucial phase of the annual effort. It has decided, therefore, that the coming weeks right through to June must be devoted to a properly mounted canvassing campaign.

This is by no means an effort subsidiary to the J.P.A. events that have already taken place in London districts and towns throughout the country, and are still proceeding. Canvassing can in fact produce results as substantial as launching functions. Their success depends upon planning with the utmost precision, the proper preparation of the public, and, most important, the creation of an adequate number of teams to ensure that all prospects are covered.

Adds thousands: In several leading committees, the officers have not awaited an invitation before going forward with their canvassing drives. During this past week, the Textile Trade, which traditionally has been in the forefront of canvassing efforts and has developed them with all the efficiency one has come to expect from the publicity-minded "rag trade," has proved that a door-to-door effort can add thousands of pounds to a Trade appeal, Similarly, the Manchester executive has begun its canvass and results so far reported are highly favourable. Hendon has just completed its canvassing fortnight, Finchley began its canvass this week, while London's leading district, Hampstead Garden Suburb, is due to commence in the middle of

is due to commence in the middle of

Edgware meets Rachel Hubner. Also in the picture: Mrs. Janus Cohen; Mr. and Mrs. W. Rose; Cyril Stein; Mr. and Mrs. B. Schwable.



Mr. and Mrs. Anthony Greenwood with Fur Trade leaders S. N. Gabe, Simon Reiss and N. Felber.

May. Here we look forward to good news from a district which never lets Israel down. The same goes for Brighton: Starting-date is this Sunday, April 23.

On going to press we learn of the spectacular result of the Textile Trade's first day (Tuesday): £16,658 contributed by 48 new subscribers.

Other committees are now urged to make speedy arrangements to turn the canvassing period into an opportunity for a massive J.P.A. "extra."

An analysis of the campaign since it was launched in February points to the inescapable fact that the number of contributors is still extremely low, a mere 5,250. True, they count among them some of our top supporters and have contributed no less than £1,195,000. But the administrative committee is therefore understandably anxious about the two million pound target, for it cannot be realised unless many more subscribers are brought into the direct appeal. To find them becomes a number-one priority of every committee.

Work as teams: The most difficults problem in organising a canvassing drive is the enlistment of an adequate number of workers for what must be a tough but by no means thankless assignment. It is not an insurmountable task. Experience: has shown that the technique which pays off best is for canvassers to be sent out in pairs and at least one member of each team should be a personal acquaintance or friend of the prospect. Canvassers must be fortified with all the arguments that have necessitated launching a campaign to eliminate the "two Israels," in a year when Israel is constantly making the newspaper headlines because of the Barmitzvah celebration and the unprecedented number of foreign correspondents who are in the country.

CONFIDENCE IN THE FUR TRADE

ANTHONY GREENWOOD GIVES A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF ISRAEL

What the creation of Israel implied to a British politician who was also an observing Christian was explained by Anthony Greenwood, J.P., M.P., when he addressed a Savoy Hotel luncheon that launched the Fur Trade's J.P.A. effort with an initial contribution of £10,000 last week,

Most impressive to the Member of

Parliament for Rossendale and one-time president of the Oxford Union was the Law of the Return. "No country in the world has begun its life of independence with a similar gesture," he declared. It was this very generosity of Israel which had produced the grave difficulties in the fields of economic and social planning that the J.P.A. was asked to alleviate. He had spoken to many Jewish audiences over the years and had paid frequent visits to Israel, and thought it was absolutely right that world Jewry should take upon itself the responsibility of seeing this great nation-making enterprise through to success.

The country had made "staggering" progress. He had seen equipment manufactured in Haifa for the textile industry that rivalled in standard that produced by any country of the world.

The speaker was introduced by Simon Reiss, Fur Trade chairman. Mr. Reiss assured his colleagues in this industry that the committee intended to support the campaign this year to the utmost and it had high hopes of success. Other speakers: A. S. Stalbow and S. N. Gabe.

EDGWARE FOLLOW-UP

Mrs. Rachel Hubner's first appearance at a J.P.A. gathering in Britain was at Edgware's second meeting, which took place at the home of Mr. and Mrs. B. Schwable.

The speaker's sincere approach to the subject of overseas Jewish aid for Israel charmed her hearers, and another £4,000 was raised towards the district's target so that its total to date has grown to £16,000.

Chairman Cyril Stein presided and the appeal was conducted by Rev. S. Amias. There was also a witty and highly appreciated speech to wind up the evening's proceedings from Rabbi Dr. S. Lehrman.



Younger Delegates.

FINDING ANOTHER THOUSAND J.N.F. WORKERS

HOPES AND HEART-SEARCHINGS AT J.N.F. SPRING CONVENTION

A call to recruit one thousand new workers, a search for "the missing generation" in Jewish communal activity and an analysis by Max Varon of the political and social climate in Israel were the high points of the largest-ever spring Convention of the Jewish National Fund, which took place at Southport last weekend.

It was during his brief introductory address that president Rosser Chinn declared that the future growth of the movement demanded a strong infusion of new blood as the great imperative of the day. True, the J.N.F. stood as the largest Jewish mass movement in Britain; but it had to grow, and to grow fast, if it was effectively to shoulder the financial tasks imposed upon it by Israel's all-out offensive against the desert and the great probability of a new intake of immigrants on a large scale.

New Dynamic: In the view of the J.N.F. leader, only by re-charging the movement with a fresh dynamic could they break through to a new level of fund-raising in traditional media, particularly Blue Boxes, which had levelled off at £50,000 a year for several years. And only in this way could they realise their commitment for the Barmitzvah Forest within the coming twelve months. Mr. Chinn wants volunteers to write to him personally at J.N.F. Head Office and he will ensure that they are welcomed into the appropriate Commission.

With very little delay the conference was thrown open to delegates, who were challenged to produce their ideas for regional expansion and the revitalisation of inactive areas. Before long this was reduced to a comprehensive examination of publicity methods, during which some delegates charged that the films available were inferior and the printed material inadequate. Was London helping enough? Should there be more newsletters or less? What about the revival of the old J.N.F. Bulletin?

These were the kind of questions posed, but some old J.N.F. hands repudiated the contention that the initiative must emanate from London or that there was any alternative to hard work. Among those whose points of view were heard were Mrs. Raie Green of Southport, Dr. A. M. Korn of Preston, S. Davies (Liverpool), Berl Rosenblatt, Liverpool's chairman and Eric Raffles, who leads Manchester.



Max Varon speaking. On his left, J. Sellyn of Glasgow.

No subsidies: The subject of tourism featured prominently in the discussion, and there is no doubt about the degree of anxiety felt in the community concerning the high cost of visits to Israel as compared with travel elsewhere overseas. But the conference set itself against the idea that the J.N.F. had any mandate to subsidise tours for young people, despite the recognition that such tours would prove an educational means of high importance. Among those who spoke on this and related topics were Trevor Chinn (Younger Commissions), B. Forster (Southport), I. Karp (Liverpool), B. Zissman (Birmingham), Leo Levy of Liverpool, J. Y. Marcus of Dublin, B. Burton of Leeds, Louis Davies of Nottingham and Southport chairman S. Abelson, S. Heller (Liverpool) thought



Older Delegates.

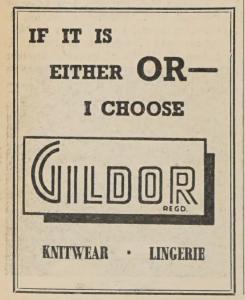
that Commission activities were overcentralised, and R. Fox of Leeds reminded delegates of the fund-raising potential of the Golf Championships.

To terminate the session the president warned delegates not to expect the administrative committee to "wave a magic wand." It simply did not have the manpower to travel the country constantly, though he promised his hearers that the leading officers of the permanent staff would be available for this purpose.

The session ended on a hospitable note, despite the heat of the argument, with the presentation of a Golden Book certificate to Mr. Chinn by representatives of the two host Commissions: Berl Rosenblatt of Liverpool and Harry Green of Southport.

Younger Commissions: During the afternoon, at a session presided over by Trevor Chinn, the problems of the Younger Commissions were fully ventilated. The junior Mr. Chinn gave an upto-the-minute report on the Mount Meron project, which he had only recently visited, and some heartening news on the organisational side was the fact that a new northern regional council for Younger Commissions had been formed.

Conrad Morris spoke out frankly on the wastage of personnel which the Younger Commissions were incurring frequently due to members' marriage. This brought the conference into a fuller discussion of how to enlist young married couples into the movement. J. Biron of Leeds reminded delegates that the problem had been largely solved in his city with the creation of Fellowships. He emphasised that their success stemmed





Liverpool's Berl Rosenblatt greets the president as S. Applebaum, J. Smush, Ram Haviv, Saul Rosenblatt and Max Glassman look on.

from the inclusion of cultural activities in their programmes, and this led to the worry being voiced by other delegates that the Younger Commissions did not pay sufficient attention to this aspect of their work for Israel and were as a consequence losing ground. Trevor Chinn promised to examine with his colleagues the possibility of bringing educational work within their scope.



Newcastle delegation showing Eric Sharff Mr. and Mrs. L. Lassman, Mr. and Mrs M. Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. H. Black.

The subject of tourism arose again and was discussed by S. Greenhill of Liver pool, Mrs. Anita Bursk, Manchestes women's leader, Eric Raffles and South port's Jack Smush. Then came a description of visual aids and the way they assisted educational activities among 25,000 school children. This session was handled by Moshe Davis, with a contribution from Naomi Coleman.

VARON: "PRIDE YES, COMPLACENCY NO!"

Max Varon began an outsanding address with a flash-back to the year 1951 when, as Max Weiner, he had participated in the first J.N.F. Spring Convention. "How pessimistic we were! New immigrants crowding into a povertystricken country; tents and ma'abarot everywhere; great empty expanses; a dire shortage of food." Israel seemed in that year to be on the verge of a moral and physical collapse, and there were many, among them old J.N.F. workers, who considered seriously the postponement of J.N.F. traditional tasks so that the movement should be devoted to the collection of food parcels. But wisely, this point of view had not prevailed and despite the grim picture of the day's needs, the longterm principles of the Fund were upheld.

What did they see now? Land reclaimed, with bountiful crops in that raw territory; forests planted and great economic activity; a country that had held on to the degree that the outsider took away a superficial picture of lush hotels and shops packed with goods. It was precisely here that the danger lay. For behind that facade the keen observer could see that the job was far from finished, and Mr. Varon wanted a return to the old dynamism which had solved the previous

immigration crisis but which was necess sary to take the impact of "probably an other million newcomers" in the next ter years.

Strains of change: About the Lavor affair, this senior Foreign Ministry official and head of its German Desk would only say that the growth to the age of Barmitzvah brought out also blemishes and defects in the body politic, just as in the human personality. Israel still had to develop, and in doing so must face up to the strains brought by change.

The Jewish National Fund, in the struggle against the desert, was participating in the classic conflict of the Middle East. For, said Mr. Varon, the desert was not merely a physical feature of the terrain which had made the Holy Land the outpost of Western civilisation since Biblical times, but it was the historical concept of a style of life.

And he concluded by quoting the words of David Ben-Gurion: "We are under no obligation to accept the desert as an unalterable heritage."

On the Saturday evening preceding the working sessions, delegates enjoyed a social gathering with entertainment by Max Bacon and Tovah Porat.

BIRTHDAY CAKE FOR DUBLIN

Dublin's recent Blue and White Ball, supported by 500 people, was held to celebrate not only the 13th anniversary of Israel's independence but also the diamond jubilee of the Dublin Commission. A birthday cake, decorated with 13 candles, was cut by Bernice Coutts, Blue and White "queen" for 1961.

Dublin's chairman, H. A. Leon, reminded the gathering of the 60 years during which the Commission had been in operation, and of the dream that had become a reality. Now, he hoped that another dream would be realised, that of a secure Israel, economically self-sufficient and at peace.

The guests of honour, the American Ambassador and Mrs. Scott McLeod, were presented with a Golden Book certificate, and in his response, Mr. McLeod expressed the satisfaction and enjoyment he had derived from his service in Dublin and among the Jewish people of that city. Mr. and Mrs. H. Simmons were the host and hostess, and the Chief Rabbi and Mrs. Cohen, and Mr. and Mrs. Ram Haviv, were among the guests. H. Bridburg was the organising chairman and £1,700 was raised.

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

THIS WEEK'S BEST BOXES

MANCHESTER: Mr. Altarez, 2 Elm Road, £4.11.0. Mrs. Barris, 271 Cheetham Hill Road, £2.12.6. Mr. Jackson, 7 Butt Hill Drive, Prestwich, £2.3.6. Mr. Shamash, 140 Barlow Moor Road, £2.3.0. Mr. Maurice Jaffe, 25 Dale Street, 3, £2.2.0. Mrs. Levaine, 5 Park Court, Park Road, Salford 7, £2.1.0.

BIRMINGHAM: Mr. H. Kay, C3 Calthorpe Mansions, Calthorpe Road, 15, £2.0.0.

BELFAST: Mr. R. Appleton, 643 Antrim Road, £7.4.0. Mrs. Rosenberg, 18 Silvermoyne Park, £4.10.0. Mr. Cohen, 3 Thornburn Road, £3.10.0.

GRIMSBY: Mr. and Mrs. M. Greenberg, 48 Bargate, £5.12.0. Mr. and Mrs. P. Pinkowitz, Wellow-gate, £5.0.0. Mr. and Mrs. J. Samuels, 8 Westlands Avenue, £2.10.0. Mr. Sherman, 183 Hainton Avenue, £2.8.0. Mr. L. Samuels, 15 Park Avenue, £2.0.0. Mr. C. Berman, 4 Weelsby Road, £2.0.0. Mis G. Hillelson, 93 Scartho Road, £2.0.0. Mr. and Mrs. D. Goldstone, 39 Signhills Avenue, Cleethorpe, £2.0.0.

STOCKPORT: Mrs. Lester, 337 Manchester Road, £7.10.0. Mr. S. Clare, 292 Wellingston Road, £2.10.0. Mrs. Craft, 8 Denby Lane, £2.4.0. Mr. K. Heilbron, 4 Heaton Moor Road, £2.00.

SOUTHPORT: Mrs. E. Reuben, 23 Dunbar Crescent, £8.7.0. Mrs. S. Abelson, 3 Westmoreland Road, £5.13.6. Mrs. Kushner, 3 Hartley Crescent, £8.10. Mrs. G. Fletcher, Brocklebank Road, £4.14.6. Mr. H. Moss, 64 Promenade, £4.10.0. Mrs. Berg, 28 Albert Road, £4.5.0. Mr. J. Bloch, 35 Bath Street, £4.4.0. Mrs. Lipson, 29 Grosvenor Road, £4.10.6. Mrs. Benjamin, 4a Everton Road, £4.10.0. Mrs. M. Marks, 37 Roe Lane, £2.12.6. Mrs. C. Polak, 62 Trafalgar Road, £2.12.0. Mrs. H. Ziment, 24 Preston Road, £2.10.0. Mrs. K. Heilbron, 7 Rutland Road, £2.15.6. Mrs. F. Bursk, Flat 6, Kenworthy's, Bath Street, £2.12.9. Mrs. M. Marks, 37 Roe Lane, £2.12.6. Mrs. C. Polak, 62 Trafalgar Road, £2.10.0. Mrs. H. Ziment, 24 Preston Road, £2.10.0. Mrs. Benjamin, 4a Everton Road, £3.00.0. Mrs. L. Solomons, 67 Coudray Road, £2.00.0. Mrs. L. S



Celebrating in Dublin. the American Ambassador and Mrs. McLeod; Mr. and Mrs. H. Simmons; chairman H. A. Leon.

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